NATIONAL REVIEW

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June 22, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Full Employment and Monetary Policy

LUDWIG von MISES

Freedom as a Fine Art

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

At Stake with Girard

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by ·····WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

FRANK S. MEYER · RUSSELL KIRK · WILLMOORE KENDALL

GERALDINE FITCH · L. BRENT BOZELL · HELEN WOODWARD

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For the Record

The International Association of Machinists became the first union to act on the so-called "Fifth Amendment" policy adopted by the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee last February. The IAM fired three union organizers who invoked the Fifth Amendment last week in a congressional hearing on their Communist affiliations....Two days after the Supreme Court ruling on the Jencks case, the Communist Party formally demanded that reports on the FBI be made available to it in order to fight the Subversive Activities Control Board ruling that the Party is Moscow-controlled....The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, a notoriously Leftist union, also has asked for a look at FBI files.

The Natural Gas bill is given a slightly better chance of passage since President Eisenhower recommended its enactment even without two industry-opposed Administration amendments....Minimum wage extension, the school construction bill and labor reform laws are considered for this session ....The House Banking Committee will not call hearings this year on proposals for federal aid to economically depressed areas.

Three American youth groups (the National Student Association, the Young Adult Council and the National Federation of Catholic College students) have warned their members against participating in the Soviet World Festival of Youth this summer....One thousand persons picketed the United Nations building in New York last week in protest against UN inactivity on the Hungarian situation. A world-wide demonstration of Hungarian sympathizers is scheduled for June 30.

More than $90,000 has been received to date by the "Joe McCarthy Memorial Fund," which Fulton Lewis, Jr. (1627 K St. N.W., Washington, D.C.), started the night after the Senator's death. Most of the donations were of $1, $5 and $10....Plans are under way to construct a McCarthy Library in Washington to house the late Senator's papers and records.

A Delegation of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is in Washington to lobby for an expansion of U. S. trade relations—especially with Communist China. Certain Chamber of Commerce factions keep pressing in the same direction.

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The WEEK

● Exhibiting a great deal more solicitude for the sacred sovereignty of Norway than ever they exhibited for the sovereignty of China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary or, come to think of it, the United States, enemies of the policy of liberation have seized on Senator Knowland's "affront" upon Norway as a way to avoid discussing his proposal. It is not, in our judgment, a serious proposal; that is to say we do not believe (any more than Senator Knowland does) that the leaders of the Soviet Union would seriously consider evacuating Hungary. The proposal is, however, altogether defensible as a venture in psychological warfare, calculated to expose the emptiness of Soviet cant about mutual withdrawal. If the West were disposed to press the advantage, its leaders would brush aside disingenuous concern over the dignity of Norway (Senator Knowland never suggested forcing Norway to do anything) and would, by forcing a reply from the Soviet Union, demonstrate, once again, the hypocrisy of Communist concern for national self-determination.

● We rejoice at the victory of the Conservative Party of Canada, not only because it marked the end of a developing political dynasty, and the dispossession of Lester Pearson, but because the Party that won is distinguished by so honorable a designation. Now the question arises, as these days it must, Is the Conservative Party of Canada conservative? It is difficult to say, and we beg leave to defer judgment. In doing so, we feel that we do not exhibit a greater ignorance of the program and purpose of the Conservative Party than do seasoned Canadian politicians with a great deal immediately at stake. On the day after the election—the day on which we write—we note that the leaders of Canada's right-wing party (Social Credit) and left-wing party (Canadian Commonwealth Federation), "expect" to cooperate with the Conservative Party to enable it to organize a Government—depending on the legislative program the Conservatives put forward. Even Canadian politicians, it appears, don't know what is in store for Canada under the Conservatives, who evidently campaigned primarily on the indisputable need for a change, and, no doubt, on the virtues of New Conservatism, which are as hard to define in Canada as elsewhere.

● The *New York Times* seems to be taking over sponsorship of the revolt against President Batista of Cuba that is being led by the ex-law student, Fidel Castro, and his miscellaneous dissidents, locally and internationally backed by the Communists. Two months ago *Times* correspondent Herbert L. Matthews, after spending a couple of days with Fidel in his Sierra Maestra camp, wrote an account that read like a Public Relations handout. Matthews is now back in Santiago, not far from the Sierra Maestra, wiring dispatches that would qualify him as chief of Fidel's psychological warfare section. Already, in a quote attributed to "a graduate student," Matthews is displaying the Larger Vision: "Fidel has lifted Cuba out of the inertia that was engulfing us as it has the people of the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Venezuela." Readers of Mr. Kendall's recent column (June 8) will have fresh in mind Matthews' comparable services for "the Republican cause" in the Spanish Civil War, which he found "just and worthy," and for the MVD's International Brigade therein, "the finest group of men I ever knew or ever hoped to know." We suspect Mr. Matthews will meet up with a number of his fine old friends among Fidel Castro's cohorts.

● After weeks of valiant opposition to President Eisenhower's request for a long-range "revolving" economic-development loan fund, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee finally caved in and tentatively approved a $2 billion capitalization of the fund for the next three years. Since this presumably carries the matter well beyond the congressional elections of 1958, the idea of providing a revolving fund for "giveaways" is thereby effectively put beyond the reach of the U.S. voter. It is simply up to the voter to pay.

● Mr. Meade Alcorn talked tough the other day. In answer to the question whether or not, in his opinion, the Democrats favor the free enterprise system, he said: "If you take all they did between 1932 and 1952, they did their best to destroy it." That is a sober judgment, we feel; and the beginning, we hope, of a developing critical faculty that will permit Mr. Alcorn to love, cherish and defend the market system against predators of whatever political designation.

● Barring a most unusual and discriminatory act of God, the Mayflower will, before this issue is put to bed, drop anchor off the coast of Massachusetts. We have viewed the enterprise with mingled feelings of respect and puzzlement (the latter was well expressed in the *New Yorker's* depiction of a member of the crew asking another whether he thought it would be cheating to swallow a Dramamine pill); and sometimes we found ourselves wondering whether the Mayflower would reach Plymouth before

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or after the earth satellites the world's scientists are busily constructing (see below) began their heavenly rounds. The Mayflower has won the race in a contemporary re-enactment of the victory of the turtle. We congratulate the stout crew, and the imaginative entrepreneurs (yes, the whole thing was a private show, organized not by the Plymouth Historical Association, but by British businessmen, for profit). We await the inevitable laying, in Barcelona, of the keels of the Pinta, the Niña, and the Santa María.

● American Forum, the new Communist front, has begun operations on a national scale. In San Francisco its local auxiliary (called "Independent Socialist Forum") drew a sizable audience to listen to Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential candidate of the Communist-captive Progressive Party, and a group of speakers from the Trotskyist, Socialist and official Communist organizations. Hallinan and most of the others called for a new radical "labor party," but they were rebuffed by Al Richmond, the Communist spokesman, who favored "work in the Democratic Party." NATIONAL REVIEW expects to report in its next issue on American Forum's first big New York meeting, with the Rev. A. J. Muste, Dorothy Day (editor, *Catholic Worker*), Stringfellow Barr (former President, St. John's College) and a string of Communists and Trotskyists as featured speakers.

● If you listen to what the players say, the temptation is to think of it as an athletic contest, so to speak. In fact, the stakes are enormous. Which of us will first put his artificial moon up there in the evening sky? The man-made moon can't be faked. To make it and get it up there in orbit, with the instruments present, intact and functioning is impossible unless there is an advanced and formidable technology to draw on. The Communists have done a lot of talking about their nuclear production, their propellants and missiles and electronics. No one from the outside world has seen their nuclear explosions or their missile tests, such as they may have been. But the satellite, if it arrives, will be naked as the stars, exposed to the view of thousands of observers all over the world. If the Soviet Union succeeds, as it promises any day now to do, the West will have a closer lead into Soviet technological capability than Western intelligence agencies have been able, thus far, to furnish us with.

● Mr. Frank Stanton, President of CBS, contends that since Khrushchev's performance on "Face the Nation" allowed the "American people to hear, see and judge for themselves the nature of Communism and of the Communist leadership," CBS would have done the nation a "gross disservice" had it not televised the interview. Nevertheless, Mr. George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, refused to appear on the follow-up program, "Comments on Khrushchev," when he learned that excerpts from the interview would be rerun: CBS had, he said, given the Soviet Union a great propaganda advantage by sponsoring the promulgation of a view which should be considered as falling outside the bounds of tolerable opinion. One wonders whether, in 1938, CBS would have invited Adolf Hitler or Paul Joseph Goebbels to urge the abolition of the Jewish race before a nationwide audience. Of course not. Thus CBS skates on perilously thin ice when it implicitly attempts to distinguish between a philosophy so evil that the American will not accept it and a philosophy so evil that a national network ought not to transmit it.

● When Arthur F. Hetherington (Harvard '08) was invited to vote for the next Board of Overseers of Harvard University, he set out to find out more about the candidates than their names, ranks and class numbers. He wrote each of twenty-seven aspirants asking "How do you feel about the selection of Oppenheimer as a lecturer under the Departments of Philosophy and Psychology at our University?" One reply, from Lawrence Eliot Bunker, read: "I have been outspoken in my opposition to the Oppenheimer appointment. I am most anxious that the University should reacquire some of its former dignity by showing better judgment in its selection of visiting lecturers." Eager to tell Harvard alumni that one candidate, at least, held so refreshing a position, Mr. Hetherington prepared an advertisement consisting of his letter to the candidates and Mr. Bunker's reply. The *New York Times*, together with the Harvard *Alumni Magazine*, found the ad unfit to print.

● Mr. Richard Rovere does a fine job, in a recent issue of the *Spectator*, in serving notice upon the British that a) ours is not a police state and that therefore, b) those who so classify it, most conspicuously, these days, Bertrand Russell, talk nonsense. Along the way, unfortunately, Mr. Rovere pauses to say a most unfriendly thing about Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, to wit, that he "has always struck [Rovere] as a pompous and almost unbearably self-righteous man," and to note that, in his judgment, "the Republic could get along without the FBI." In another mood, Mr. Rovere is apt to go along with those who call for the quiet and speedy death of congressional investigating committees, "vigilante" groups, administrative security boards, and the rest of it, on the grounds that "the FBI can take care of it." Surely it comes down to Earl Russell saying we are terrified over nothing and Mr. Rovere countering by saying we are *not* terrified over nothing.

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At Stake with Girard

The case, or rather dilemma, of Sergeant William S. Girard becomes more and more mystifying. At one level, the fact that he will, if the governments of Japan and the United States have their way, be tried in a foreign court triggers the debate, so often reported in these pages, over the wisdom of the Status of Forces approach to American soldiers serving overseas.

There is, in the pending case, a unique twist.

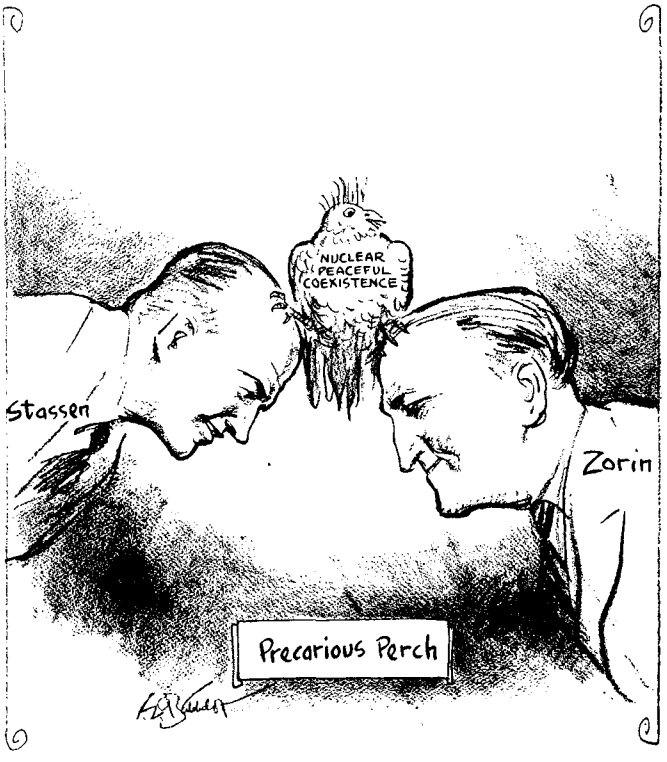
The Peace Treaty with Japan, ratified by the Senate in 1951, provided for "administrative agreements" to be entered into, by-and-by, respecting arrangements covering American troops in Japan. In 1953, our ambassador, Mr. Allison, signed with Japan an agreement which did not deal merely with the logistical and mechanical problems attendant upon the station of American soldiers in Japan, but with the substantive matter of jurisdiction. The 1953 agreement provided that either the Japanese or the American government could waive jurisdiction over its nationals should it elect to do so. In pleading the legality of the move to remit Sergeant Girard to the Japanese courts, government lawyers argue a line of authority tracing back through the 1953 agreement to the 1951 treaty ratified by the Senate.

Lawyers for Girard maintain that a) the Senate itself has no power to alienate fundamental procedural and substantive rights of American citizens; and b) in point of fact the Senate did not, in ratifying the 1951 treaty, contemplate any such use being made of the unspecified administrative agreements to be concluded in the future; and moreover, c) the Senate showed implicitly at the time the Status of Forces Treaty itself was ratified (1953) its intention that under no circumstances should jurisdiction be waived when a soldier is on duty.

At another level, the case projects a jurisdictional quarrel of epic importance, a fight which sees the government of the United States stoutly maintaining that it is not for the military to decide whether military personnel are acting in the line of duty.

The term "in the line of duty" is often misconstrued by civilians who equate it with "pursuant to duty." Perhaps the easiest way to dispel that notion is to cite the fact that any soldier contracting venereal disease is, in the official records of the military, held to have been "in the line of duty." So loosely is the term applied. It is, then, important to bear in mind that in asking the question, "Was Sergeant Girard in line of duty when he accidentally killed Mrs. Sakai?" one is *not* asking the question, "Was he ordered to kill Mrs. Sakai?" Clearly he was not: but just as clearly, he was acting in the line of duty in the sense that he was, at the moment the accident occurred, subject to military discipline and, implicitly anyway, complying with military orders. Had a superior officer approached him and given him an order during the period immediately preceding the accident, he would have obeyed that order immediately; there is no record of insubordination, that we know of, in the career of Sergeant (repeat Sergeant) Girard. Thus the presumption is that his behavior was not tainted by any impulse to insubordination, or implication that he had wilfully moved away from the line of duty.

About all this the military seems to have been extremely clear at least up to the moment when the President backed up our diplomats in Japan by confirming the order to turn Girard over to the Japanese. No American military official ever suggested that Girard was not in line of duty. Under the circumstances, turning him over to the Japanese implicitly assigns to a foreign government the right to overrule the United States armed forces. The moment sovereignty over such matters is alienated, military discipline—to say nothing of military justice—breaks down. It is not enough for a soldier to act according to his lights, and according to the presumed wishes of his superior officer; an officer is presumably at the mercy of superseding notions as to how he should conduct himself, meted out by the local government. An American lieutenant who (let us take a hypothetical case) ordered his platoon to break up a riot in the local P.X. at which, for one reason or another, a group of Panamanian hotheads started breaking windows and throwing things, might suffer for his



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decision. Suppose the Panamanian government, the dust having settled, handed down the judgment that the lieutenant had not acted in line of duty? Is it the position of the American government that, without further ado, off goes the lieutenant for trial by a Panamanian court?

Sober men, fortunately, are becoming aroused by the hyper-obsequious attitude of the American government. It may come to pass that out of it all, our governors will be forced to think their folly through.

Red Herring, Mr. Eastland?

What with a detailed report on the cancer-cigarette tieup every month or so, the American public ought to be getting pretty sophisticated about problems of "statistical correlation." Now there is one recent set of statistics, in a different but possibly analogous field, that we would like to get some research group to run through its digital computers: the statistics, namely, on political attitudes and the disease that we might here christen "epidemic fallout-hysteria."

According to our own diligent field workers, the facts are roughly the following. 1. Every Communist, pro-Communist and unreconstructed fellow-traveler, whether physicist, chemist, biologist, doctor, ditch digger or columnist, has developed an acute case of fallout-hysteria, with accompanying symptoms of public screaming for an end to (American) nuclear tests. 2. Some non- or anti-Communist physicists, chemists, biologists and doctors come down with the disease and some don't, with many of them who might be thought susceptible because of long exposure to nuclear knowledge showing no symptoms whatever. 3. Non- and anti-Communist ditch diggers, columnists and ordinary unspecialized mortals are, not unnaturally, confused and getting more so.

If we rightly remember our college course in Inductive Logic, this is evidence enough to point to a certain "positive correlation," as the statisticians say, between Communism and fallout-hysteria: not a 100 per cent conclusion that Communism is the one and only cause of the disease, but enough—and a lot more than the cigarette-cancer investigators have got for their very flat conclusions in their analogous inquiry—to suggest that Communism rather than Science pure and undefiled has just a leetle something to do with the aforesaid epidemic.

That is one reason why we were happy to read that Dr. Linus Pauling, Caltech's ionic chemist who assembled the 2,000 signatures to a test-stopper petition, and has just gone abroad to take his case to the people of the world, was going to appear before the Senate Committee on Internal Security to discuss the petition's parentage, nursing and active career.

Dr. Pauling would certainly seem to be a relevant man to ask about correlations with Communism, since for more than a decade there have been few well-known citizens more intimately correlated with Communism and Communist-backed causes, conferences and committees than he. Whether it's a Committee to Welcome the Dean of Canterbury or to defend the Communist lawyers held in contempt by Judge Medina, a Waldorf Peace Conference or an open letter backing a Communist training school, Chemist Pauling is always ready, as a congressional committee put it, to place "his scientific attainments at the service of a host of organizations which have in common their complete subservience to the Communist Party U.S.A., and the Soviet Union."

We were, then, enthusiastically waiting for the word from Dr. Pauling on his latest petition. But the curtain fell. All off. Performance cancelled.

Why? We address our Why to Senator Eastland, who is, presumably, responsible for the decision. Are the Liberal critics of the Committee gradually having their way with it?

Never the Twain . . .

The controversy over the relation of wage increases to high prices has reached a stage where the participants aren't speaking to each other. On the one hand we have economists like Professors William Fellner of Yale and Harold B. Wess of the Business School of the American University, who think the "wage-push" character of the recent inflation is so strong that it cannot be cancelled out by automation or by a restrictive money policy. The economists point out that the values of currencies have been falling all over the Western world despite the fact that governments everywhere have been using orthodox anti-inflationary methods. To all of which Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers returns a stony and uncomprehending stare. For his own part Mr. Reuther insists that high profits, not high wages, are causing the current inflationary price rises.

The controversy can and very probably will continue to rage for months to come before the consumer calls a halt to it by refusing to buy. The main point about the whole argument is that it cannot be settled in the collective bargaining arena because of one thing and one thing alone: the monopoly power of union labor. The "wage-push" has escaped the discipline normally effected by the market because individual companies no longer are able to bargain with local organizations on the basis of local costs; the local company must accept the "industry-wide" demands of the "international" union or else. Since no big company wants to bear the odium of forcing a small, high-cost company out of business,

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prices tend to be set at a point which will allow the marginal concern to pay high "international union" wages and still remain in business.

Because of this state of affairs, the economy no longer gets accurate signals. And without accurate signals, nobody can know what he is actually talking about. That is why Walter Reuther and Professors Fellner and Wess cannot get together.

Baltimore Ambush

The League of Women Voters in Baltimore County had planned *such* a lovely evening. Mr. Fred Weisgal, former chairman of the Maryland branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, would denounce the "Federal Program for Loyalty and Internal Security," and the ladies would be left feeling very enlightened and very courageous at having brought in so outspoken an anti-terrorist.

Little did they know that there lurked in the audience six members of the Minute Women, a right-wing group more concerned with the threat to our liberties posed by Communists than by anti-Communists. Unaware of the infiltration, Mr. Weisgal plunged right in and set forth the platitudes of his position. No. 1: To be accused of being a security risk, or of disloyalty, is far worse than to be accused of a criminal action. Minute Women: "Are you equating 'security risk' and 'disloyalty'?" Mr. Weisgal declared them to be one and the same. The MW informed him he was incorrect, and handily proved their point, citing case histories of several government employees to illustrate the significant difference between the two categories.

No. 2: Only the FBI should concern itself with espionage. MW: Surely, as a lawyer, Mr. Weisgal should know that the FBI is not empowered to act on evidence it amasses; and just as surely a man dedicated to the protection of civil rights would oppose extending the FBI's functions to include those of prosecutor, judge and jury?

No. 3: Investigating committees deprive the country of the services of its best brains (J. Robert Oppenheimer, for instance) by causing to be dismissed men whose only offense is the innocent joining of a few Communist fronts or association with a few Communists. MW: Did Mr. W. consider political naiveté a quality which can be permitted in men who work in sensitive agencies? Or, to examine the case of Dr. Oppenheimer, did Mr. W. consider an unrepentant liar a good security risk? Flustered, Mr. Weisgal found in Dr. Oppenheimer's contradictory testimony evidence of true virtue: "Sometimes it takes great courage to lie."

When Mr. Weisgal finally realized that this was not his kind of meeting, he got ready to leave. As he gathered his papers, a woman handed him a book and asked if he did not think the audience might find it relevant to the discussion. Weak, he assented, whereupon every person present was given a copy of the *Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States, Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws.*

In Baltimore County, the League of Women Voters has learned by experience about internal subversion.

Far Flight of Fancy?

Mr. Robert Raynolds, whose novels have been honored by Harper Prize judges and the Book of the Month Club, is about to do something as daring as Saint George's feat in taking on the dragon.

Eleven years ago Mr. Raynolds wrote a book called *Far Flight of Love,* which he describes as a "lyric, almost a pastoral love story." He has tried to find a commercial publisher to issue the book, but nobody thinks he "can make money on it." The reason, as Mr. Raynolds judges it, is "that it could be read aloud in church, and not a single line would offend." Mr. Raynolds, who has made money on other books, doesn't believe that salacity is the only thing that can catch a market. Accordingly, he is backing *Far Flight of Love* with his own money; it will be published by Pageant Press, Inc., of New York in September. He is "assuming" that orthodox review media and the regular reviewers for the press will give him a hearing, despite the sneers that usually greet the work of someone who depends on "vanity publishing"—*i.e.,* his own free enterprise—to get his work into print.

Having read some of Mr. Raynolds' earlier novels, and having offered to NATIONAL REVIEW subscribers his excellent "In Praise of Sane Readers" (April 20, 1957), we think it entirely possible that his own judgment of his work is better than that of the commercial publishers who have turned him down. But his confidence in "assuming" that he can publish a book at his own expense and get a hearing from "the trade" is something else again. We say this because of the fate that has befallen most political books on the Right which have failed to get by the readers for the commercial publishers. Will decent love fare any better than decent politics?

Our contributors: PROFESSOR LUDWIG VON MISES ("Full Employment and Monetary Policy") is the universally respected dean of the world's libertarian school of economics. A German version of this article was published in the January issue of *Schweizer Monatshefte,* Zurich, Switzerland.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

The New Privileged Class

There is no area of the law which the social engineers have had a greater hand in shaping than that dealing with organized labor; none, consequently, does more violence to the traditional concepts of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Roscoe Pound, former Dean of the Harvard Law School, has put together some of the evidence in a small pamphlet, *Legal Immunities of Labor Unions,* published by the American Enterprise Association.

Dean Pound's study suffers, unfortunately, from over-compression: his attempt to hammer this extremely complex subject into 21 pages results in the kind of imprecision and incompleteness that will annoy not only lawyers, but laymen who can tell a loose end when they see one. Notwithstanding, Dr. Pound has struck off an enormously valuable work. His data, as far as they go, are unassailable; as is his thesis that organized labor lives under one law, everyone else, another.

The first half of the pamphlet is devoted to the historic immunities recognized by the common law—those accorded, for example, to kings, nobles, clergy, landowners and charities. Dr. Pound shows that such legal privileges either have disappeared or are disappearing, but that in the teeth of the steady trend toward equality before the law, a new favored class has emerged. Labor unions, their officials and members, are allowed "to commit wrongs to person and property, to interfere with the use of highways, to break contracts, to deprive individuals of the means of earning a livelihood, to control the activities of the individual workers and their local organizations by national organizations centrally and arbitrarily administered beyond the reach of state laws, and to misuse trust funds—things which no one else can do with impunity."

Here are some illustrations.

Torts. As a general rule, trespassing on another's land may be stopped by injunction. Not so when a labor union's trespass takes the form of picketing. The courts hold that picketing is an aspect of "free speech," except when conducted for an unlawful purpose. Intimidation of the employer, or of fellow employees, or of the employer's customers is not an unlawful purpose. The public, Dean Pound points out, is equally defenseless: "Interference by pickets with streets and highways, which would be a nuisance if done by ordinary people, is an everyday matter."

Labor's dispensation also covers "assaults on drivers, and overturning of trucks and breaking of windows and destruction of carts, and for that matter, bombing of shops and houses and throwing of tear bombs, for which there is no effective legal remedy." Of course, damages for injuries to persons and property can theoretically be recovered from the immediate inflictors of the injury. But the goods against them can seldom be got, and such persons are rarely financially responsible.

The remedy—in non-union situations— is, and has been for centuries, provided by the doctrine of *respondeat superior*: liability of the "master" for the wrongs of agents or employees committed within the scope of the agency or employment. The courts, however, do not consider members of a union its agents; the union, consequently, is not liable for their acts in a labor dispute. The discrimination is particularly galling since other "masters," e.g., corporations and the government, are accountable not only for the intentional wrongs of their servants, but for their mere negligence as well.

The union, and the union officials, who are usually the actual as well as the theoretical perpetrators of the wrongdoing, get off scot-free because the law gives unions the status of "voluntary, unincorporated associations." Walter Reuther and associates are thus successfully riding both horns of a dilemma. For purposes of organization, labor leaders insist upon a closed or union shop, *i.e.,* upon *involuntary* association; but for purposes of beating up nonconformist workers, unions want to be, and are, treated as *voluntary* associations.

Contracts. Ordinarily, persons and corporations are liable in damages for breach of contract. For many years, however, unions could tear up collective bargaining agreements almost at will. The Taft-Hartley Act attempted to remedy the situation by making unions suable in the federal courts. However, the effectiveness of this legislation, Dean Pound says, is in "grave doubt because of Constitutional questions" recently raised by the Supreme Court.

Restraint of trade. In *Hunt v. Crumboch* (1945), the Supreme Court established the complete immunity of unions from the anti-trust laws. Justice Jackson, dissenting, wrote: "This Court now sustains the claim of a union to the right to deny participation in the economic world to an employer simply because the union dislikes him."

Duties of Public Service. It is unlawful for a public transportation corporation, for example, to close down its road in the course of a labor dispute. But the converse does not hold. "Organized employees," Dean Pound writes, "can compel stoppage of public service, prevent others from taking their place . . . even in breach of a no-strike provision in their collective bargaining agreement."

The Right to Work. At a time when a man's job is increasingly regarded by the law as a "property right," and when violations of that "right," on racial grounds, are prohibited by legislation, the courts find no trouble with the practice of conditioning the right to work on union membership—which the worker may not want, and which if he does want it, may be arbitrarily withheld or withdrawn by union leaders.

Political Contributions and Trust Funds. The discrimination here has been well publicized of late. Though huge union funds are used for partisan political purposes, and in some cases for the personal aggrandizement of union leaders, they are subject neither to the statutes regulating political contributions by utilities and corporations, nor to the rules of law governing the use of trust funds.

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Full Employment and Monetary Policy

One of the world's greatest teachers of economics refuses here to beat around the bush and bluntly asks, Are Labor Unions Desirable?

LUDWIG von MISES

At the price determined in an unhampered market all those who consider it satisfactory can sell and all those who are prepared to pay it can buy. If commodities remain unsold, this is not due to their "unsalability" but to speculation on the part of their owners; they expect that they will be able to sell later at a higher price.

It is different when the authorities try to influence the market by compulsion. If the government decrees and enforces minimum prices higher than the potential market prices, a part of the supply offered for sale at the official minimum price remains unsold. This fact is well known. Therefore, if a government wants to push the price of a commodity above the potential market price, it does not simply resort to the fixing of minimum prices. It rather tries to reduce the quantity offered for sale on the market; for instance, by purchasing and withholding a part of the supply available.

All this applies also to labor. At the wage rates determined in the labor market everybody who looks for a job can get it and everybody who wants to employ workers can hire them. In the unhampered labor market, wage rates always tend toward full employment.

Market wage rates rise when the marginal productivity of labor outruns the marginal productivity of capital goods; or, more simply, when the per-head quota of capital invested increases. This is effected either by accumulation of new capital or by a drop in the number of workers. An increase in the amount of capital is the result of saving and consequent investment. A reduction in the supply of labor on the market can be brought about by restricting immigration. In the age of liberalism (in the traditional classical connotation of the term) there were practically no migration barriers. In this age of welfarism and unionism wellnigh all governments have either completely prohibited immigration or —as for instance the U.S. and other American republics—stipulated definite quotas. Beyond that, some American unions have tried to reduce still more the number of jobseekers in their segments of the labor market by excluding colored people from some kinds of employment and by rendering entrance into certain branches extremely difficult.

There is need to emphasize that only such "artificial" or "institutional" reduction of the labor supply makes it possible for the unions to raise their members' wage rates. Their success in raising the wages of their members is won at the expense of those whom they have excluded. These outsiders are forced to look for jobs in industries in which remuneration is lower than what they would have earned in the field that is closed to them.

Effects of Labor Unions

Labor unionism as we know it today is the outcome of a long evolution. In the beginning only a few branches were organized, mostly those with the best paid skilled workers. At that time, those who could not find a job in a unionized industry because wages had been pushed above the potential market height and thereby the demand for labor had been reduced, were forced to go into the nonunionized branches of business. Their influx into these branches increased in them the number of jobseekers and thus tended to depress the height of wage rates. The higher wages of the unionized workers brought about a pressure upon the wages of nonunionized workers. The more unionization spread, the more difficult it became for those who lost their jobs on account of union policy to find other jobs; they remained unemployed. Wherever and whenever the unions succeeded in raising wage rates above the potential market rate, *i.e.*, above the amount the workers would have earned without union interference, "institutional" unemployment developed as a lasting phenomenon.

As the union leaders see it, the determination of wage rates is the outcome of a struggle for power between the employers and the employees. Their interpretation does not realize that wages depend on the state of the market and that the workers who receive the wages form the immense majority of the consumers out of whose pockets the wages are ultimately paid. The average wage earner considers it unfair that the movie star and the boxing champion are paid a hundred times more than the welder and the charwoman. He fails to see that his own behavior and that of his kind contribute to this result. An entrepreneur cannot pay more to a worker than he expects to collect from the customers for this man's performance. Even the most infatuated supporters of the exploitation doctrine are finally forced to admit that, at a certain height of wage rates, lasting unemployment of a considerable part of the potential labor force becomes unavoidable.

The market economy is ultimately controlled by the conduct of the consumers, *i.e.*, by the conduct of all the people. In buying or in desisting from buying, the consumers determine what ought to be produced, of what quality and in what quantity; they determine who should make profits and who should suffer losses; they make rich men poor and poor men rich. The consumers are continuously shifting control of the material factors of production into the hands of those entrepreneurs, capitalists and landowners who are most successful in

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supplying them (*i.e.*, the consumers) in the cheapest and best possible way. Thus, in the capitalistic economy control of the factors of production is, as it were, a revocable mandate granted by the public. The operation of the market, in a daily repeated plebiscite, assigns to everybody the place in which he has to contribute to the united effort of all and determines the height of everybody's income.

The Alternative—Socialism

The individual finds it hard that he is forced to adjust himself to the conditions of the market and must forego many of his own wishes and inclinations. However, it is obvious that the immeasurable benefits that cooperation under the system of the social division of labor affords to everybody must be paid for by some sacrifices. Whatever society's economic organization may be, it must always prevent man from behaving without due concern for the existence of others. The alternative to the hegemony of the market under capitalism is not absolute freedom, but the unconditional surrender of all to the supremacy of the socialist planning authority.

Society cannot do without an institution that channels the available workers into those branches in which they are most urgently needed and withdraws them from those in which there is less need for them. The labor market serves this purpose in raising wage rates in expanding industries and reducing them in shrinking industries. The alternative is to assign to each man a job by government order.

The tyranny of the labor market is milder than that of socialist regimentation. It grants to the individual a margin within which he is free to disobey. If he is prepared to put up with a lower income, he can choose vocations in which he can either dedicate himself to his ideals or indulge his inclination for laziness. But the command of the socialist dictator does not brook contradiction.

There is only one method to abolish lasting mass unemployment, *viz.*, the return to the freedom of the labor market. Lasting mass unemployment is always institutional. It is the inevitable effect of the enforcement of wage rates that are higher than the potential market rates at which all jobseekers could find employment. It does not matter whether these minimum wage rates were directly decreed by the government or indirectly induced by the fact that the government is not willing to protect the enterprises and the strike-breakers against the violence of the unions.

The political power of the unions has succeeded in suppressing the dispassionate discussion of these problems. But it could not prevent the undesirable consequences of the unions' policies from wreaking havoc. In the twenties, in many European countries mass unemployment became the main political embarrassment. It was clear that these conditions could not continue indefinitely. Something had to be done. Smart politicians thought that they had found a solution. As it was deemed impermissible to antagonize the unions, and to tamper with the wage rates dictated by them, they resorted to currency devaluation. England took the lead in 1931. Very soon other countries followed.

For a while the nostrum worked. Some time passed before the unions began to pay full attention to the drop in the monetary unit's purchasing power. But when the index of the cost of living became the main issue in wage negotiations, the monetary method of eliminating mass unemployment had exhausted its serviceableness.

A New Messiah

It was precisely at this juncture that Lord Keynes entered the scene with his good tidings, the allegedly new economic doctrine designed to supersede all previous economic teachings, including those of the earlier writings of Keynes himself. Following in the wake of the politicians who in 1931 had demolished the British gold standard, and of their imitators, he pointed out that "a gradual and automatic lowering of real wages" that results from a lowering of the monetary unit's purchasing power will be less strongly resisted than attempts to revise money-wages. But in 1936, when Keynes' book was published, this no longer agreed with the facts.

Keynes' *General Theory* of 1936 and his later writings are hardly different from the bulk of inflationist literature which for more than a century has flooded the world. Like the authors of all these pamphlets, Keynes tries to dispose of all those who do not share his opinions by calling them "orthodox"; he never tried to disprove their teachings rationally. He enriched the prosaic language of diplomatic correspondence by terms borrowed from the messianic jargon of the monetary cranks; for instance, when—in the British document that inaugurated the events which finally led to the establishment of the International Monetary Fund—he declared that credit expansion performs the "miracle . . . of turning a stone into bread." But he did not know how to add any new idea to the old, long since entirely refuted and discredited arguments of the inflationists. All he accomplished was to coin a new slogan—"full employment." It became the motto of present-day policies of inflation and credit expansion.

This full-employment doctrine underlying these policies, in complete accord with the teachings of the *Communist Manifesto*, declares that the very operation of the capitalistic mode of production inevitably generates the emergence of mass unemployment. Unlike the creed of the more consistent Marxians it does not, however, contend that the return of periods of economic depression and large-scale unemployment is absolutely inevitable in the market economy. It attributes to the State (with a capital S) the power to create jobs for everybody. All that the State has to do is to put more money into the hands of the people and thereby to increase demand. It is wrong, this official full-employment doctrine goes on to assert, to call an increase in the quantity of money created for this purpose, inflation. It is just full-employment policy. Those "reactionaries" who ramble about monetary stability and the return to gold are depicted as the worst enemies of civilization, public welfare and the common man.

The climate of opinion of the United States is fully dominated by these ideas. The unions are always in a position to succeed in what are euphemistically called wage negotiations because the laws are loaded in their favor and because the Government is always prepared to use its

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power to their advantage. (In this regard it does not make much difference whether the Administration is Republican or Democratic.) From time to time the unions ask for raises. The employers are forced to yield. As soon as business begins to slacken and workers are discharged, public opinion vehemently asks for more "easy money." After a short period of hesitation the Administration gives in and puts pressure upon the Federal Reserve Board.

A Few Dissenters

Fortunately the inflationary policy is still seriously resisted by a group whose members are not numerous but conspicuous by their competence and familiarity with the problems involved. Among these dissenters there are several eminent writers, a few influential businessmen and, what is worthy of notice, also some members of the Federal Reserve Board. This handful of men do not have the power to put an end to this nefarious monetary and credit policy. Yet their weighty reasoning has in the last years, especially under the Eisenhower regime, succeeded in keeping the inflationary ventures within narrow limits. It is the merit of their warning voices that the world's richest country has up to now not embarked upon the pernicious policy of runaway inflation.

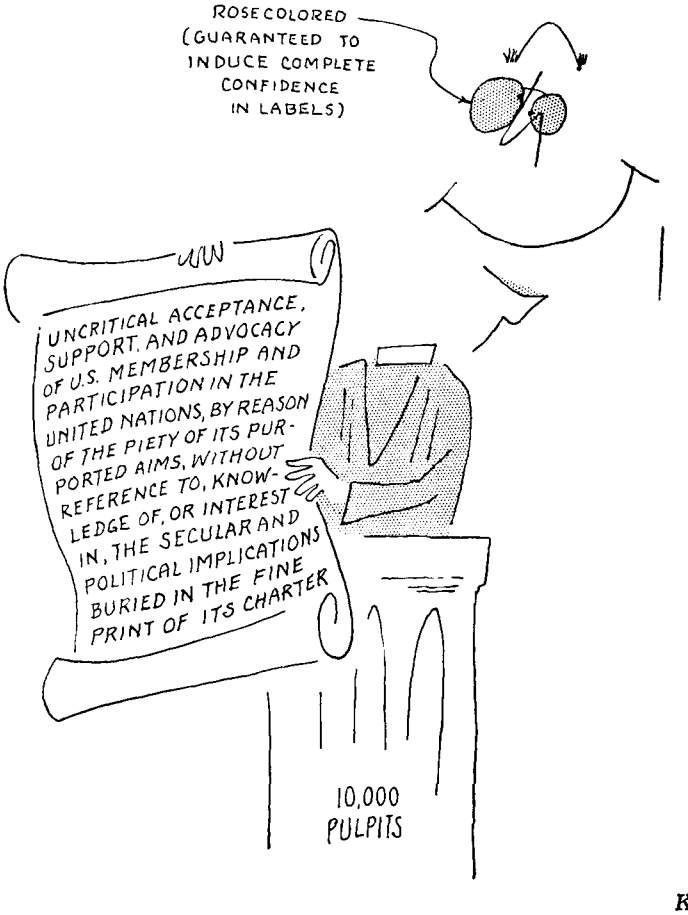
The full significance of this success can only be appreciated if one takes into account the vehemence of the pro-inflationist propaganda of university teachers and of "progressive" politicians and journalists. Some of the utterances of these people are really amazing. Thus several years ago the then Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York declared: "Final freedom from the domestic money market exists for every sovereign national state where there exists an institution which functions in the manner of a modern central bank, and whose currency is not convertible into gold or into some other commodity." The lecture that contained this statement had the characteristic title: "Taxes For Revenue Are Obsolete." In the same vein, a professor of economics pointed out, in a voluminous work, that the government "can raise all the money it needs by printing it"; the purpose of taxation is "never to raise money" but "to leave less in the hands of the taxpayer."

The weakness of the small group advocating sound monetary policy and fighting all inflationary measures is their disinclination to attack the full employment doctrine openly and directly. It is, of course, practically impossible to bring up this issue before the public. There are certainly men with the courage to risk their careers or even their personal safety. But there are neither newspapers nor publishers who would dare to spread doctrines that criticize and reject the institution of unionism in principle.

Even those writers who occasionally expose blackmail and embezzlement on the part of individual union officers emphasize again and again that they consider the institution of unionism as such, and the policies of the unions, as beneficial to the welfare of the wage earners and of the whole nation, and that they merely intend to free the unions from dishonest leaders. As long as such ideas about the effects of unionism prevail, even modest attempts at repealing the privileges granted to the unions by the New Deal are doomed to fail. And there cannot be any question of protecting enterprises and those willing to work against violence on the part of the unions.

At the most recent meeting of the International Monetary Fund there was much talk about the danger of inflation. Well, in order to fight this danger, it is no longer enough to work for a better understanding of monetary problems. It is no less important to enlighten public opinion about the absurdity of the full-employment doctrine that today guides the conduct of all governments and all political parties.

(Reprints of this article are available at 15 cents each, 100 for $10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.)*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"The most wonderful thing about our government is the separation of Church from State, but not State from Church."

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

One Big Strike

The "disarmament" being discussed in London is not to be confused with the disarmament of the thirties. Today disarmament is a shorthand phrase for some kind—any kind—of agreement about the production, testing, storage and employment of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons; and disarmament negotiations have become an integral part of the great game of military and psychological strategy. They involve possible changes in the character of the game and, by that very token, the possibility of somebody's losing his shirt.

The talks are not, I say, about disarming; even Mr. Stassen seems to understand that his accomplishment in London will not be that of returning the United States to unpreparedness. Nor do the negotiations, at this stage anyhow, concern the production or testing of nuclear weapons—or, as they once did, the drawing of a distinction between the tactical use of atomic weapons and "all-out" nuclear warfare. They concern the question how any *future* agreement on weapons is to be inspected and policed.

They reflect, in a word, the determination of the Washington bureaucracy and the Liberal propaganda machine to create machinery for such inspection and policing. And the important thing to grasp is the grim seriousness of that determination, and the ulterior purposes behind it, since only by keeping these in mind can we bring the negotiations into proper focus.

The central points to catch hold of are, as this columnist sees it, these:

1. The Liberal intellectual elite that does most of our strategic thinking has worked up a major anxiety neurosis over the genetic consequences of the testing of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. Every news flash from Nevada about a newly-discovered bald head or dead lamb intensifies the neurosis, and redoubles the Liberals' determination, at any cost, to stop the tests.

2. The Liberal intellectuals are, on this as on so many other matters, impervious to reason or evidence, and willing to attribute the most fiendish motivations—if not explicitly, then by clear implication—to those who take issue with them. *Some* scientists, they reason, say that the tests are doing irreparable harm; the scientists who assure the British and American governments that the harm they do is negligible are, therefore, wrong. (So, by implication, are the scientists in the employ of the Russian government, which is clearly losing no sleep over fall-out.) Or, to put their point a little more precisely, there *is* no such thing as negligible harm; if the tests do any harm at all, that harm is irreparable, and reason enough to stop the tests. The question "How much harm should we be prepared to inflict in order to gain information officially regarded as necessary for national defense?" is an immoral question, not to be discussed by any right-thinking Liberal.

3. The Liberals' anxiety neurosis over the tests admissibly serves their dreams of world government: if mankind will not accept world government for the tens of thousands of other good reasons for it, let it do so in order to protect itself against the ravages of radiation.

4. Mr. Stassen's mission in London, then, is to achieve—through the open skies proposal—the beginnings of world government, which, make no mistake, is just what we will have the moment the inspection and policing problem is solved. And it is hard to understand why the Russians, who will be the inevitable gainers from one-worldism, don't snap him up on it.

5. The national interest of the United States is being represented in the London negotiations not by Mr. Stassen, then, but, in spite of himself, by Mr. Zorin—to whom, therefore, this columnist wishes all the firmness of will, all the blindness to an opponent's point of view, that he will need in order to cope with the boy-wonder from Minnesota.

(Only on one assumption can this reasoning be set down as incorrect, namely: that the Russians oppose the open skies proposal because the opening of the skies would reveal, for all the world to see, Russia's military weakness over against the United States.) As far as the Liberals are concerned, in short, the nation's need for bigger and better hydrogen weapons for possible future use against the USSR, its stake in such laboratory experiments as are needed in order to produce them, and, finally, its confidence in the humanity and judgment of Lewis Strauss—all *that* can go hang.

6. The machine has talked itself—and the rest of the Liberal intellectuals—into a lather over the genetic effects of "fall-out." But it has conspicuously failed to communicate its anxieties to the public in general; and such failures, as we have often noted in this space, reflect doubt upon the machine's ability to deliver the goods, and so drive its personnel first to distraction, then to desperate proposals for getting their way in the teeth of adverse public opinion. And not infrequently to desperate proposals originating with old clutch-man Max Ascoli.

"The remedy?" writes Mr. Ascoli this time, "Of course there is a remedy. . . . The word is NO. No cooperation [with the tests] on the part of any man who can deny his skill—not to speak of his enthusiasm—to this insane, unending race. No cooperation on the part of anyone who may have acquired even a microscopic fragment of truth and does not, by keeping silent, want to trade it in for a share of guilt."

In a word: Let the scientists, in virtue of their superior knowledge, take over on the formulation of public policy. And let them enforce their will—where *have* we heard this before?—through the One Big Strike by the One Big Union. And if the strike involves a wee little bit of treasonable disobedience to orders, so much the worse for orders.

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Freedom as a Fine Art

Albert Jay Nock, editor of the original *Freeman* (1920-1924), had a way of enabling people to surpass themselves. It was, to let them alone

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

A friend who saw a great deal of Albert Jay Nock during his long sojourns in Belgium once said to me, "I don't know how he does it; but when you're with Albert Nock you find yourself coming out with things you didn't know you had it in you to say."

This effect of certain rich personalities on those privileged to associate with them is not easy to explain; more especially since not all rich personalities produce it. Perhaps it is brought about by a spiritual courtesy; a tolerant expectancy; possibly, more than anything else, by a willingness to help the truth along without encumbering it with themselves, to use an expression which Albert Nock was fond of quoting. Nock, for example, was temperamentally incapable of taking you down, when you mentioned a good idea that had just come to you, with, "Of course. That is exactly what I said in my last article." (In all the years I knew him, I never once heard him quote himself.) He tacitly granted your right to independent discovery and discussed your offering on its merits.

But why speculate on a quality so elusive as the gift of stimulating people to be better than they are? It is wiser merely to bear witness; as Edward Epstean did (that racy character and friend of the *Freeman* staff). When the *Freeman* was about to cease publication after four wonderful and financially unprofitable years, he remarked to Albert Nock:

"You've done a great deal for all those young people."

"I don't know that I've ever done anything for them except let them alone," said Nock.

"Yes, I understand," answered Epstean. "But if someone else had been letting them alone, it would have been a very different story."

Yet I don't think Albert Nock was primarily interested in people. He was much too fastidious; a true intellectual aristocrat. Indeed, there were even some who thought him an intellectual snob; and little did he care, for he was indifferent to gossip about himself and never gossiped about others. People *qua* people rather appalled him, and the ascendancy of mass man in modern society and the councils of government filled him with horror. There frequently crept into his work after *Freeman* days more than a touch of his disdain for the cheapness and vulgarity of the life that followed World War One. I remember once suggesting—it was in the late twenties—that it was likely to antagonize those whom otherwise he might persuade. He said he thought I was probably right, but I think my lament left him essentially indifferent.

"*You Pass It Along*"

He was interested in ideas ("The idea," he once wrote, "is forever the fact"). He was interested in intelligent and civilized people. And he was above all interested in ability. The nearest he ever came to boasting was in his claim to instinctive recognition of ability. Character, he would say, eluded him; he could not judge it; but on ability no one could fool him.

He was not only interested in ability; he sought it out and encouraged it. He gave it a chance to develop by letting it alone in his own very special way. Not as a conscious service to society or his country or even to the beneficiary. It was, I suppose, the teacher's instinct in him; the instinct to serve truth. But he never tried to impose *his* truth on his pupil. Rather, he was concerned to put the pupil in the way to find truth for himself—as if he had revised the Biblical saying, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," to read, "Ye shall be free in order that ye may know the truth." Nor was he looking for gratitude. "You don't try to repay the help that is given you," he would say. "You pass it along to others."

He passed along to "those young people" freedom to develop in their own way, to find their own truth. He himself had a gift for grasping the importance of truths so obvious that almost everyone overlooks them. One of these—the one that more than anything else made him a great editor—was that any organization is *people*, and that no organization can be better or other than the people who compose it. His interest as an editor was in the people who produced the magazine. I remember an impromptu talk he made to the staff one day at lunch, after the *Freeman* had been publishing six months. He had not worried about the quality of the magazine, he told us, for if the people engaged in an enterprise were happy and growing in their work, the enterprise was bound to reflect their spiritual state. He felt that the people connected with the *Freeman* were happy in their work, and growing in it; and so long as that was true the magazine could not be other than excellent.

I have dwelt at this length upon Albert Nock's relations with "those young people" of the *Freeman* because it seems to me that his editorship of that magazine which he made so remarkable is an index to the character and influence of a very remarkable man; a man who was a libertarian not only in theory but in practice, and who—*mirabile dictu*—wanted liberty for others as much as for himself; who clearly realized, indeed, that without liberty man is a

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This article will appear as the introduction to Snoring as a Fine Art and Twelve Other Essays, *by Albert Jay Nock (West Rindge, N. H.: Richard R. Smith. $3.00)*

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slave no matter how many subsidies and services officious overlords may impose upon him.

Liberty was the touchstone by which he tested the quality of social life: the relations between man and man, man and society, man and the state. He rejected the Welfare State because he knew that the ministrations of its swarming bureaucracy interfere with the individual's pursuit of happiness—"Can any individual be happy when he is continually conscious of not being his own man?" And also because he knew that the arrogation to itself of the power to regulate the conduct of the citizen interferes with the legitimate functions of the state, which are two: "first freedom; second justice." In other words, the state's business is to *let people alone,* and to coerce them only in the measure necessary to ensure their letting one another alone.

It was this passion for liberty—for letting people alone—which filled him with abhorrence of the ubiquitous Peeping Tom curiosity about personal lives. It is well expressed in his essay on "The Purpose of Biography," with its severe strictures on the vulgar sensationalism of much that is accepted today as serious biographical writing. And his own biographical essay on Henry George excellently illustrates his idea of biographical method; a method which rigorously excludes all personal data not relevant to the public character and history of the subject. No doubt if biographers conformed to his canon of admissible evidence the public appetite, and the market, for biography would decline. But there is equally no doubt that public taste and the quality of historical writing would benefit immeasurably.

I do not mean to give the impression that Albert Nock was in any sense a propagandist or a fanatic. But I think I am not wrong in ascribing the lucidity of his thought and even of his style to his profound understanding of the meaning of freedom and the wealth of its implications.

So little was there of the propagandist in him that he never seemed much interested in the fate of his work. He once wrote me a remarkable letter of advice in which he expressed succinctly his idea of a writer's duty to himself: "Write what you want to write, as well as you can, and then forget it." He was not eager for fame; he had a greater ambition. He aspired to *excellence,* and well did he know how few and obscure, in these times, are its devotees. He wrote comparatively little, as a sensitive writer must in an age whose tastes and mores are the opposite of his own. But he wrote that little "as well as he could," and that was well indeed; so well that while there are still a few who love freedom, wisdom, excellence of thought and style, those few will be his readers. And they are the only readers he would want.

Parkinson Looks at Retirement: II

How to Get Rid of the Boss

The first article in this series discussed the need to emulate in business a custom once well known in African tribes: that of liquidating the chief at a certain point in his career. In this, as in so many other matters, modern science is not at a loss. The crude methods of the past have been superseded. In days gone by it was usual, no doubt, for the other directors to talk inaudibly at board meetings, one merely opening and shutting his mouth and another nodding in apparent comprehension, thus convincing the chairman that he was actually going deaf. But there is a modern technique which is far more effective and certain. The method depends essentially on (a) *air travel* and (b) *the filling in of forms.* Research has shown that the high official who is given enough of each will very soon begin to talk of retirement.

The opening step in this technique is to lay before the great man a program: consisting, say, of a conference at Helsinki in June, a congress at Adelaide in July, and a convention at Ottawa in August, each lasting about three weeks. He is assured that the prestige of the department or firm will depend on his presence and that the delegation of his duty to anyone else would be regarded as an insult by all others taking part. The program of travel will allow of his return to the office for about three or four days between one conference and the next.

The essence of the technique is so to arrange matters that the conferences are held at places the maximum distance apart and in climates which offer the sharpest contrast in heat and cold. There should be no possibility whatever of a restful sea voyage in any part of the schedule. It must be air travel all the way. . . . It can safely be assumed, almost without inquiry, that most flights will involve take-off at 2:50 a.m., reporting at the airfield at 1:30 and weighing baggage at the terminal at 12:45. Arrival will be scheduled for 3:10 a.m. on the next day but one. . . .

Most of the flight time will, of course, be spent in filling in various declarations about currency and health. How much have you in dollars (US), pounds (sterling), francs, marks, guilders, yen, lire, and pounds (Australian); how much in letters of credit, travellers' checks, postage stamps and postal orders? Where did you sleep last night and the night before that? (This last is an easy question, for the air traveller is usually able to declare, in good faith, that he has not slept at all for the past week.) When were you born and what was your grandmother's maiden name? How many children have you and why? What will be the length of your stay and where? What is the object of your visit, if any? Have you had chicken-pox and why not? Have you a visa for Patagonia and a re-entry permit for Hong-Kong? The penalty for making a false declaration is life-imprisonment. Fasten your seat-belts, please. We are about to land at Rangoon. Local time is 2:47 a.m. Outside temperature is 110°F. We shall stop here for approximately one hour. Breakfast will be served on the aircraft five hours after take-off. Thank you. No smoking, please.

It will be observed that air travel, considered as a retirement-accelerator, has the advantage of including a fair amount of form-filling. But form-filling proper is

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a separate ordeal, not necessarily connected with travel. The art of devising forms to be filled in depends on three elements: (a) *obscurity*, (b) *lack of space* and (c) *the heaviest penalties for failure*. In a form-compiling department, obscurity is ensured by various branches dealing respectively with *ambiguity*, *irrelevance* and *jargon*. But some of the simpler devices have now become automatic. Thus, a favorite opening gambit is a section, usually in the top right-hand corner, worded thus:

Return rendered in respect of the month of	

As you have been sent the form on February 16th, you have no idea whether it relates to last month, this month or next. Only the sender knows that, but he is asking you. At this point the ambiguity expert takes over, collaborating closely with a space consultant, and this is the result:

Cross out the word which does not apply	Full Name	Address	Domicile	When Naturalized and why	Status
Mr. ..... Mrs. .... Miss					

Such a form as this is specially designed, of course, for a Colonel, Lord, Professor or Doctor called Alexander Winthrop Percival Blenkinsop-Fotheringay of Battleaxe Towers, Layer-de-la-Haye, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, Lincolnshire-parts-of-Kesteven. Follows the word "domicile," which is practically meaningless except to an international lawyer, and after that a mysterious reference to naturalization. Lastly, we have the word "status" which leaves the filler-in wondering whether to put "Admiral (Ret'd)," "married," "American citizen" or "managing director."

Now the ambiguity expert hands over the task to a specialist in irrelevance, who calls in a new space allocator to advise on layout:

Number of Your Identity Card or Passport	Your Grandfather's full name	Your Grandmother's maiden name	Have you been vaccinated, inoculated, when and why?	Give full details

Note: *The penalty for furnishing incorrect information may be a fine of £5,000 or a year's penal servitude or quite possibly both.*

Then the half completed work of art is sent to the jargon specialist who produces something on these lines:

(253)

What special circumstances are alleged to justify the adjusted allocation for which request is made in respect of the quota period to which the former application (143) relates, whether or not the former level had been revised and in what sense and for what purpose and whether this or any previous application made by any other planning authority under subsection VII (35) or for any other reason, and whether this or the latter decision was made the subject of an appeal and with what result and why.

Finally, the form goes to the space technician who adds the space-for-signature section, the finish which crowns the whole:

I/We *(block capitals)* .....declare under penalty that all the information I/we have furnished above is true to the best of my/our knowledge, as witness my/our signature signed this.....day of.....19.....

(Signature).....

Witness :—

Name .....

Address .....

Occupation .....

Photograph Passport Size

Seal .....

Thumb print

This is quite straightforward except for the final touch of confusion as to whose photograph or thumb print is wanted, the I/we person or the witness. It probably does not matter, anyway.

When Your Time Comes

Experiment has shown that elderly men in responsible positions will soon be forced to retire if given sufficient air travel and sufficient forms. Indeed, at the first mention of a conference at Stockholm or Vancouver, they often realize that their time has arrived. Very rarely nowadays is it necessary to adopt methods of a severe character. It used to be the custom not only to arrange tours to overseas countries, but to plan details of inspection tours and banquets there. It will suffice to cite from the case-book of one such tour. By the fifth day the distinguished visitor concerned could walk only when supported by a secretary on one side and a personal assistant on the other. On the sixth day he died, thus confirming the general impression that he must have been tired or unwell. Such methods as these are now discountenanced and have, indeed, proved needless. People are learning to retire in time.

But a serious problem remains. What are we ourselves to do when nearing the retirement age we have fixed for others? It will be obvious at once that our own case is entirely different from any other case we have so far considered. We do not claim to be outstanding in any way but it just so happens that there is no possible successor in sight. It is with genuine reluctance that we agree to postpone our retirement for a few years, purely in the public interest. And when a senior member of our staff approaches us with details of a conference at Teheran or Hobart, we promptly wave it aside, announcing that all conferences are a waste of time.

"Besides," we continue blandly, "My arrangements are already made. I shall be salmon fishing for the next two months and will return to this office at the end of October, by which date I shall expect all the forms to have been filled in. Goodbye, until then." We knew how to make our predecessors retire. When it comes to forcing our own retirement, our successors must find some method of their own.

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From Washington

SAM M. JONES

Rumors and Alarms

With few exceptions, newsmen in the nation's capital failed to subscribe to the falling-sky mood that seized some people when the President fell ill. There was no lack of alertness (anything can happen any time) but the stock market stampede failed to carry the press along. News business went on as usual. Every correspondent was ready, if, as and when, to file the story by telegraph, phone it, or tell it over radio and TV; but there was an amazing lack of the tension that usually—almost always—accompanies a potential "break" in a big story. While national and international apprehension, speculation trepidation and confusion concentrated on Mr. Eisenhower's viscera, eight newsmen were playing poker, waiting for developments. One of them said, "Well, he might die." And another responded, "Everybody does, sooner or later; deal, damn it, deal. I'm hooked forty bucks."

This incident is not cited to suggest that Washington correspondents are unduly cynical or lacking in respect or esteem for the President. But most of them are familiar with the facts of life and death. Many agreed with a statement reiterated by Mr. Eisenhower that no man is indispensable.

Prospects

As of today it seems quite probable that the Democrats will carry both House and Senate in 1958. Anything can happen, including war and atomic annihilation and the dire effects of blueberry pie, but assuming that none of these proves fatal, the odds are stacked against the Republicans. The Democrats have serious troubles of their own—and many voters have completely lost faith in both parties—but when Eisenhower couldn't carry the Congress in '56, who wants to bet that he can carry it in '58?

As reported in this column many weeks ago, the budget-cutting is a face-saving farce. When all is said and done (including deficiency appropriations next year) the Administration, having thoughtfully padded the budget in anticipation of some cuts, will have almost as much money from Congress as it originally hoped to receive, including foreign aid. On the other hand, the Eisenhower legislative programs are doing less than well. Most of them have encountered a bipartisan resistance or a coalition bloc, both of which are likely to impose severe limitations on what may be described as Administration achievements.

Thirty-two Senators will be elected in November 1958. Only twelve Democratic seats are at stake. Of the twenty Republicans, Senator Knowland will not run; Senator McCarthy is dead. It is probable that other Republican aspirants will have better than an even chance in California and Wisconsin, but the odds against enough Republican victories to control the Senate are much higher than they were in '56 when Eisenhower was heading the national ticket. In that election, the Republicans also lost more ground in the House. If they as much as hold their own next year, the House will still be Democratic by a good working margin.

Fund—amentalism

Rockefeller Fund Grants Poland $475,000
Scientists, Writers, Architects Get Aid
Headline, N.Y. Herald Tribune, May 28

In April last the Ford Foundation
Gave half a million dollars
To aid the ratiocination
Of Polish scholars.

Rockefeller now adds a gift
Of half a million more
(Belgrade got a smaller lift
Some time before).

Sukarno must be sore perplexed—
He hates us more than Pandit—
If we don't give him something next
He may demand it.

The Funds eschew incipients
Like Diem, Rhee and Chiang
They prefer in their recipients
A socialistic tang.

Only nations which have proven
Their contempt for all our cant
Are demonstrably behooven
Of a grant.

And only enemies who yelp
The vilest defamations
Will qualify for help
From our Foundations.

And yet,
Jordan's labs are stuck for dough—
Bellas Artes sink in Mexico—
Even the wastes of drear Iran
Must have a Plan.

Money surely would not chill
Intellectuals in Brazil—
And genius flows like hemophilia
In Argentinia.

A buck or two could make or break
The barbarous brain of a Bedouin sheik—
Money's not too gaudy
For Saudi.

Turkey has an open palm
Amenable to any balm—
And Greeks are in a cultural stall
For lack of wherewithal.

Certes Ghana stands to gain
By nutriment that feeds the brain—
In fact,
Worthy causes all around
Abound.

So would it be too harsh, too brusque
To tell his eminence, Dean Rusk
One needn't seek to keep Gomulka
In studs from Sulka?

Would Benito Mussolini
Have been granted fettucini?
Why so much as feed a frito
To Tito?

Ah, what foolish reservations
Impudent indeed—
Money flows to hostile nations
With munificent speed.

So all hail to Polish letters
It's inflexible to fuss
Though they may someday change their fetters
. . . With us.

PETER CRUMPET

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

A Professor in Politics

"In politics, the professor plays the comic role." So said Nietzsche; and in this, by and large, he wrote truly. We have had some American professors who became prudent and valuable legislators and political administrators, and I wish we had more of them. Yet most professorial aspirants to office are fish out of water, doing mischief to themselves, the academy, and the state. One of these latter is a person as yet unknown to the nation at large, but momentarily of a little influence in the practical politics of Michigan: Professor Paul Bagwell, head of the Department of Communications Skills, Michigan State University.

When, a few years ago, Mr. Bagwell was a tyro professor-politician, there seemed some disposition on the part of the authorities of MSC—where I was then his colleague—to curtail his political speech-making, since it might not be "good public relations." On that occasion I wrote to the local newspaper office: a letter which did not endear me to the powers that were at MSC. (No Liberals seem to have written letters on this occasion.) For all its rodomontade, Voltaire's alleged remark, "I disagree with what you say, but will defend to the death your right to say it," ought not to be forgotten. So I do not object to Mr. Bagwell's turning politician, *per se*. I doubt whether I really should fight to the death to secure his ambitions, let alone his person; but I would risk some preferment for the principle at stake. What I object to is not to his turning politician, but to the kind of politician he has turned out to be.

On reading that some Republicans have thought of Dr. Bagwell as a possible gubernatorial nominee, a gentleman long acquainted with Republican politics in Michigan emitted a growl of astonishment. "Bagwell!" he said. "Not really! Well, the Republican Party really has got down to the bottom of the bag." Something in "Modern Republicanism" seems to attract a number of trimmers and weathervanes. The *juste milieu* of Mr. Eisenhower's publicity people also attracts an unlovely species of educational administrator, the man who uses the academy as a road to political power: I think, for instance, of Dr. Milton Eisenhower, and Dr. Harold Stassen. There are college presidents and professors who are all things to all men. When such a one addresses a rally of For America, he is hot against foreign entanglements, subversion, and Ole Debbil Income Tax. When, however, he speaks to a crowd at a factory gate, he is all for repudiating the Old Guard, pressing forward with welfare legislation and fulfilling our commitments to the United Nations.

Professor Bagwell seems to be enamored of such tactics. If, gentle reader, you demand a three-word description of this eloquent professor, here you are: a Republican Kefauver. Some colleagues, I am sorry to report, refer to Michigan's own orator as "that Paul Bagwind."

Mr. Bagwell is a shrewd operator, within limits, and seems willing to make many sacrifices for the honor of serving the people of Michigan: to sacrifice friends, colleagues, candor, and academic life. In last fall's election, when he tried to become auditor-general, his splendid talents gave him more votes than any other Republican candidate on the ballot—though not very many more, and he still lost badly enough to his Democratic opponent. Some people wanted him to be made state Republican chairman, subsequently; but other counsels prevailed, and now Professor Bagwell's friends want to put him up against Governor G. Mennen Williams in the next gubernatorial contest. Well, as you may have heard, Governor Williams is not only a smart operator, but really a very clever man, with an eye for inconsistency in the utterances of his opponents; so I think I know what would happen if Dr. Bagwell walked into the Williams-CIO chainsaw.

Thus far in life, Mr. Bagwell has done well for himself. He came to Michigan State as a young instructor, under the patronage of the head of the speech department, who at another college had been his teacher. But when that departmental chairman (Mr. Don Hayworth, recently, by coincidence, a Democratic representative from Michigan) went away to war, Mr. Bagwell made hay; and when the conquering hero returned, Mr. Bagwell had supplanted him. Presently Mr. Bagwell, by divers arts, made himself for a year president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which splendid though transient station he and his auditors never have forgotten. At Michigan State, as the years passed, Mr. Bagwell built unto himself an empire, effacing old-fashioned literature and composition as a requirement for freshmen, and substituting a hybrid called "communications skills," which is not much concerned for archaic literacy.

And is he loved by his subordinates? Ah, well, the human heart is infinitely wicked and ungrateful, and some of the very hands he has hired say they never before suffered under a taskmaster of such modest talents and soaring ambitions. Mr. Bagwell is very fond of committee-meetings; probably no other department in any American university has so many committee-meetings as his own Communications Skills; and toward the end of every committee-meeting, after his peroration, Dr. Bagwell kindly inquires, "Any questions?" Some people used to mistake this for a literal inquiry; but I'm told those dullards aren't around any more.

At present, Michigan's Republican Party is sunk as low as a party can sink without trickling away altogether, dazed by the repeated victories of Governor Williams and the CIO Democrats. At such a moment of bewilderment and leaderlessness, the silver-tongued equivocator often has his inning. Even a professor can shoot up to the top in such circumstances. But here comes G. Mennen Williams with the soft soap and the razor: gardyloo, Professor!

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Around the World in Eighty Smears

What saved Professor Pavlov's dogs from ultimate degradation amidst all those conditioned reflexes was that they could not read, lucky creatures. Illiteracy, as everybody should know by now, is greatly preferable to a literacy that feeds on currently prevailing reading matter—and not only because of its offensiveness. Even more fatefully, that reading matter conditions the literate to suicidal reflexes. Pavlov's dogs, though they were made to produce futile saliva at the sound of bells, at least kept *craving* food. But the faithful reader of, say, *The Present in Perspective,* by Prof. Hans W. Gatzke (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co. $2.50), will be all conditioned to lie down and die. Such is the power of the printed word.

The Present in Perspective, sponsored by a reputable publisher, is authored by a faculty member of the Johns Hopkins University. It is aimed at an innocent mass audience. Its purpose: "to present, in a minimum of space, the most important events that have happened since World War II." It was written, Mr. Gatzke assures his reader, because "he feels that the last decade was . . . one of the most crowded and confusing periods in our history. It is hoped that this book will bring some order into this confusion."

And how! The newly restored order is total, if not totalitarian, and a reader who puts down this volume still confused is non-cooperative and simply ornery. Washable brains will emerge cleansed and starched.

Prof. Gatzke states his thesis right in the Introduction: the world needs "adjustment by arbitration . . . there is no alternative." The adjustment in question is, naturally, to the Dynamism of World Communism. And consequently, the first chapter, "The Search for Peace," produces the most shameless rationale for the Yalta cabal ever put to paper. Professor Gatzke (and never mind professional ethics) even manipulates the most elementary facts to justify FDR's collapse. "There were at the time [of Yalta] two provisional governments, the Polish government-in-exile in London and the Soviet-sponsored Committee of National Liberation in Lublin." What the skeletons in Roosevelt's closet keep rattling about is precisely the fact that there was only *one* recognized, legitimate Polish government—the one betrayed by the West. So far, the most reckless apologist for Yalta has not dared do what Prof. Gatzke does with equanimity—issue a franchised historian's sworn affidavit that there *were* two governments.

The Equanimity of Ignorance

And this equanimity doesn't leave Mr. Gatzke on his safari into the second chapter, "The Cold War." What happened after Yalta, and why? Well, testifies the man from Johns Hopkins, "the West did not realize until too late the ultimate aim of Russia's policy." (Which, by the way, constitutes the strange claim Professor Gatzke puts up for a continuous Liberal leadership of the West: those who, in the forties, did not realize the aim of Russia's policy, are surely the ones to be trusted in the fifties!) Now, if Professor Gatzke will pardon my impudence, I consider myself a child and part of the West—myself and a most impressive legion of writers here and abroad who, in the midst of World War Two, eloquently realized the ultimate aim of Russia's policy. It was not the West that failed—it was its leadership of decadent megalomaniacs. (To give away our jealously observed trade secret: we were not necessarily smarter than the FDR's—we just did our home work and studied the Communist blueprints for world conquest which, sort of confidentially and clandestinely, had been distributed around the globe in no more than a few billion copies.)

Nor may we assume that at Johns Hopkins they *now* at last know the ultimate aim of Russia's policy. This is how, *in 1957,* Professor Gatzke explains the fall of China, "by far the most important single event of the whole cold-war period." You see, "for various reasons . . . Chiang Kai-shek abandoned the pro-Soviet orientation of the Kuomintang, *thus causing* [italics mine] a split within the movement and increasing the enmity of the Russians." The Chinese Communists, furthermore, "resisted the foreign invaders more effectively than their Nationalist rivals." No wonder, then, that they prevailed under the leadership of "Mao Tse-tung, a modest man of humble background and great ability. . . . Neither the man nor the Chinese Communist movement in those early days gave any indication of . . . dictatorial and aggressive tendencies. . . ."

Those "indications," as the more enlightened people can tell you, were figments of McCarthy's distorted imagination. And, Johns Hopkins being an American university, in 1949 they had never heard anything of the kind. At that time, there were at the most 800 million people in the world who knew of the dictatorial and aggressive tendencies of Chinese Communism; and, excepting a few perverse McCarthyites, there was not a single American college professor among them. Scholars and gentlemen, on the contrary, say *even today* with Professor Gatzke: "Chiang had the support of powerful Chinese business and banking circles. Mao Tse-tung's program of land reform gave him the backing of China's landless millions." And what gentleman with the social conscience and the pure heart of a Johns Hopkins professor would hesitate a second, in such a confrontation, to side with the landless millions against the powerful business and banking circles? So there went China.

But her disappearance from our Rand McNally Atlas does not faze a man of Professor Gatzke's equanimity. In his third chapter, "The Eclipse of Europe," he calmly goes on to audit our remaining assets, starkly borrowing from what he calls "one of the most thoughtful books on postwar Europe," namely, Theodore H. White's *Fire in the Ashes.* People not sheltered by Johns Hopkins have known Mr. White for twenty-five years as one of the shrewdest and most effective propagandists of every Leftist cause in the world; for Prof. Gatzke, he is a primary source of learned and majestically impartial knowledge.

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Consequently, Mr. Gatzke tells his underprivileged American reader *in 1957* that, in Germany, "the underlying forces of nationalism and militarism persisted after 1918, *and are only slightly subdued today.*" (My italics.) Of Britain he says apologetically: "The slowness of Britain's economic recovery was thus chiefly due to causes beyond the control of the Labor government." Speaking of French Communism, he instructs you: "Because of their excellent record in the French resistance movement during the war, the Communists commanded a large and loyal following among the working class." (That "excellent record" of French Communism consists, among other things, of denunciations of anti-Communists to the Gestapo during, and a massacre of French anti-Communists after, the war.)

Of Underdogs and Scholars

Now I wouldn't know so much as Professor Gatzke does about the class working in France's dilapidated factories, but I have no illusions about the class working from the richly endowed chairs of American universities. Their reflexes are so conditioned that they hungrily produce saliva even *before* the bell sounds. Professor Gatzke, for example, reports happily "the reunification, in September 1956, of the pro-Communist faction of Italy's Socialist Party, under Pietro Nenni, with the right-wing Socialists of Giuseppe Saragat." That reunification has, of course, not taken place yet; but what, to a learned historian, are mere facts when he sees reasons to jubilate about "a trend"?

And so, with dispassionate Olympian judiciousness, Professor Gatzke continues to tell of the world abroad without zeal or rancor. He notes for instance—always the impartial recorder of demonstrable fact—that "the repressive Fascist dictator Francisco Franco left [Spain] an outcast among the democratic nations of the West." Those pure and learned souls, you see, who until 1949 had no idea that Mao Tse-tung was a Communist wouldn't doubt, in 1957, that the conservative-authoritarian monarchist, Generalissimo Franco, is a Fascist. All this is part of the truths which, at Johns Hopkins, they hold to be self-evident.

Turning his internationally sophisticated eyes on the more provincial scene at home, Professor Gatzke in the fourth chapter ("The United States and Its Good Neighbors") records faithfully how "the Republican majority [of the 80th Congress] . . . embarked on a program of tax reduction favoring the upper-income brackets, . . . sought to reduce farm aid, and opposed government housing and social security measures. . . . The Taft-Hartley Act," the historian impartially notes, "was termed 'dastardly' and a 'slave labor' bill. . . ." But in 1948, Mr. Gatzke is happy to report, "the underdog came out on top —Harry S. Truman was elected President. . . ."

Then, you will remember, followed the Reign of Terror—the Era of McCarthysism. "In March 1950, McCarthy accused Owen Lattimore, an eminent scholar and sometime consultant of the State Department, of being 'the top Soviet espionage agent' in the United States and the major architect of America's Far Eastern policy. This reckless charge," and there is here an audible trembling in Professor Gatzke's dispassionate voice, "this reckless charge, which was also proved false, caused an innocent man immeasurable suffering over an extended period. [Of Lattimore's suffering, Joe McCarthy died only six years later.] But this consequence did not concern McCarthy. . . . Guilt by association, smear by innuendo or by doctored photograph, and suspicion against any kind of nonconformism or even conspicuous intelligence—all these truly 'un-American' practices now became the order of the day."

"Who Invented that Guy?"

This rather unlikely Gatzke (I remember thankfully a comedian who, in similar cases, used to ask, with incredulous awe, "Who *invented* that guy?") then takes a swipe at General MacArthur and various other Enemies of Progress, but he always returns with a scholar's fascination to Joe McCarthy. ("In June 1951, Senator McCarthy directed his attacks against General Marshall." etc. etc.) However, he also knows his duties as an educator, and so he informs his reader objectively about the Presidential elections of 1952. Stevenson "conducted a distinguished campaign, marked by speeches of unusually high caliber," while "Republican fortunes appeared endangered by the questionable financial affairs of General Eisenhower's running-mate, Senator Richard Nixon, of California. But the situation was saved, *if not entirely explained* [my italics], in a carefully staged appearance of Nixon and his wife before a nationwide television audience. This successful appearance testified anew to the effectiveness and influence of that new medium of advertising and entertainment."

Which may be the proper moment to say farewell to Professor Hans W. Gatzke who, believe me, is a natural for the advertising and entertainment business that, through books like *The Present in Perspective*, manipulates the national mood. Not that I have done full justice to the Gatzke opus: we have reached only the half-way mark, and four more chapters would still have to be suffered. (The last one, to give away the plot, is titled: "Coexistence or Coextermination"; and it won't surprise my conditioned readers that Professor Gatzke, in such a dilemma, seems to favor Coexistence.) But it's getting hot and humid in New York, and a writer must carefully husband his strength. So I shall stop right here—with this parting observation on one of our intellectual lights:

The man who wrote this book is indubitably a poor scholar, a deceptive propagandist, a shameless pleader—but most certainly no Communist. He is much worse. He is, typically, the American college teacher who remains irrevocably committed to a mendacious view of the world. The decisive point, at least for me, is not that Professor Gatzke somehow manages, every time there is a chance, to serve the Agitprop. The point is that a man so demonstrably undereducated, so uninformed, and so inadequate, can hold a position of trust at Johns Hopkins University.

And the point, furthermore, is that a dignified publisher of famous atlases will lend his name and his distributing facilities to a book like *The Present in Perspective*. Mr. Rand McNally (if there is such a person) is, unseen, a patriot. He is also suicide-bent—like all the other lukewarm members of the Great American Business Community.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

The True Tyrants

FRANK S. MEYER

The first months of 1957 have produced two books that, taken together, may well form the foundations of a profound counterrevolution in a decisive ideological area, an area underlying and giving form to the politics of the century. Eric Voegelin's *Israel and Revelation* (the first volume of his projected five-volume *Order and History*) has already been reviewed in these pages (March 2, 1957). Karl A. Wittfogel's *Oriental Despotism, A Comparative Study of Total Power* (Yale University Press, $7.50), like Dr. Voegelin's book, is directed toward the destruction of the prevailing theories of history that have played so large a role in bringing about the agony of our time.

Dr. Voegelin and Dr. Wittfogel are very different men. Their starting points are far apart. But the impact of their criticism hits from different directions upon the phenomenon: the historical myths that are the complement of relativist scientism and that, with it, determine the shape of the age.

The interplay between these two phenomena requires some explanation, if the significance of these two books is to be fully appreciated. The character of the last 200 years has, in the first instance, been determined by the triumph of rationalism and then of scientism over that balanced tension between the authority of tradition and the claims of reason which had characterized the mode of thought of Western civilization from its beginnings. With scientism, which attempts completely to destroy man's awareness of a divine purpose and meaning to his existence, the process reached its culmination. The proper consciousness now is swept clean of the unconditioned, the mysterious, the absolute. Everything is relative, useful, instrumental.

But there seems to be a law of compensation in the psyche that forbids such violence being done to the structure of reality. Men cannot live in an antiseptic universe, inhabited only by gadgets and by human beings who are nothing but particularly clever gadgets. So, as if this vacuum of meaning had called into existence myths to furnish out the dry emptiness of a soulless universe, the age of rationalism and scientism has been at the same time the age of the deification of the forces of History. From Hegel to Marx, and on to Spengler and Toynbee, powerful minds, rejecting the inspiration of their tradition but unable to believe in the meaninglessness of human life, have created these myths. They differ immensely among themselves, both in the distance of their removal from the integral tradition of the West and in the intensity of their impact upon the practical. But they have in common a double act of denial: to individual men, the denial of innate being and freedom of will; to God, the denial of transcendent being. History subordinates men to *its* being and replaces God, or drags Him down to a vague immanent "principle."

The contribution of Dr. Voegelin to the destruction of these myths has been to raise over against the prevalent approach to history a structure of interpretation of the destiny of man, firmly based upon the philosophy and theology of the West. Dr. Wittfogel's contribution is of a different kind, though of a vital importance to the disestablishment of the reigning historical myths. He approaches them, not from the outside, as it were, but as one who has had to work his way out of their influence. As he did so, he found it necessary to convince himself by a meticulous sapping operation directed toward the leveling of the decisive strong points that barred his way to freedom. The analysis of history displayed in *Oriental Despotism* is in a sense the record of that operation, as it is an unrivalled critique of the foundation of twentieth-century historical myth.

An historical scholar of eminence, one of the century's outstanding students of Chinese history, Dr. Wittfogel brought to this task an immense erudition at the service of a forceful intellect. To grasp the breadth and power with which he undermines the cant of contemporary historiography, it is necessary to read the book itself. Here it is only possible to summarize the heads of his achievement:

He has conclusively shown:

1. the similarity of the great irrigation-based despotisms of ancient and Eastern history to modern industrial-based totalitarianism;
2. that these tyrannies are not determined by economic necessity but are the result of a failure of "moral responsibility" in open historical situations;
3. that no evidence exists—that all the evidence is to the contrary—for the fatalistic unilinear interpretations of history that reduce men to the status of puppets of social forces and deny them moral autonomy;
4. that the essential difference between despotic, that is, "managerial," society and free society is the difference between single-centered and multi-centered power;
5. that, therefore, "strong private property" (that is, private property which exists in its own right and not by virtue of the grace of the state) is the sign and the guarantee of a free society; so that
6. in direct contradiction to the

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Marxist myth (which has penetrated far beyond Marxist circles), feudalism and capitalism are by their very character free societies, while all bureaucratic, "managerial," single-centered societies, whether those of ancient and Oriental despotism or those of modern socialism, are in their essence tyrannical.

On the basis of these conclusions, Dr. Wittfogel develops a many-sided refutation of the Marxist theory that "ruling classes" exist only on the basis of their control of property. Rather, Dr. Wittfogel shows that the holders of *political* power that goes beyond the minimum needs of any ordered society are the true tyrants. Ironically he turns Marx's description of ancient despotism as "general slavery" against the totalitarianism he fathered, maintaining that, in a way which even the worst of the ancient societies never approached, "general slavery" is the apt and accurate description of contemporary managerial totalitarianism.

It is Dr. Wittfogel's leading proposition that this fearful danger of the descent of general slavery upon all mankind is not "historically determined," is not the inevitable result of economic and social forces, is not a wave of the future that no man can resist. To the pervasive myth that history moves like a juggernaut that cannot be stopped by men, he counters: Historic situations are open situations, subject to the action of free men, of beings characterized by freedom of the will, accepting or rejecting their moral responsibilities.

Chiang, the Teacher

Soviet Russia in China: A Summing-up at Seventy, by Chiang Chung-cheng (Chiang Kai-shek). 392 pp. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $5.00

His thirty-year experience in trying to "get along" with Soviet Russia—with all its problems, mistakes and vicissitudes—is now told by President Chiang with "the earnest hope that the bitter lessons China has learned may prove instructive to countries and governments, especially those in Asia, which now face the same threat of Communism." If by baring the record of China's efforts and errors other countries (especially the neutralists) can be saved, Chiang feels the sacrifices and sufferings will not have been in vain. The question may come to mind: can one country be saved by the experience of another?

Chiang Kai-shek is not himself learning by hindsight. On his early visit to Moscow (1923) his observations were keen. Lenin was too ill to receive him. He noticed that "the feud between the internationalist clique headed by Trotsky and the domestic clique headed by Stalin continued to rage furiously within the Russian Communist Party even as Lenin lay seriously ill." He also felt that "once the Russian Communists consolidated their regime, the possibility of a revival of the political ambitions entertained by the Czarist regime certainly could not be ruled out." He reported to the KMT Standing Committee that in his opinion "the Russian Communist Party is not to be trusted," that in dealing with China it "has only one aim, *i.e.,* to make the Chinese Communist Party its chosen instrument."

In analyzing China's errors and mistakes, Chiang admits that Chinese propaganda "lacked initiative and was not militant enough in ideology to counter this international political and psychological offensive, nor was it strong enough to arouse indignation at home and a sense of righteousness abroad." Had Chiang been the dictator he has been painted, he would have cracked down harder on the Communists at home. Because of the innate politeness of the Chinese, they failed to sell their assets abroad. Chiang admits (and this reviewer agrees): "Our failure in propaganda was a major defect in our struggle against Communism."

The Chinese Communists, while they kept their own large army, which constituted rebellion against the state, made the war-weary people feel that the government should not fight them. This created a state of affairs where, as Chiang puts it, "there was neither war nor peace." It brought the Chinese leader to the conclusion: "All such things as united front, neutralism, peace-talks, political consultations, and even terms and agreements written in black and white, are merely forms of struggle which they happen to use at the time. . . . If you do not destroy them, they will destroy you."

Dates are fully and meticulously given. The book is not written in popular style—it is translated from Chiang's handwritten Chinese manuscript. Names of Chinese persons and places may be confusing to the average American. The book should be read, nonetheless, by everyone who wants to understand the full circle of Communist strategy and intrigue—from infiltration under the misnomer of "peaceful coexistence," to the final conquest of a country by military means.

Through the steady flow of facts, something else is revealed: the character of this Chinese leader, so maligned for thirty years by the enemies of freedom. He can write of Soviet Russia's perfidy without bitter or violent words. The coordinated, premeditated, insidious campaign of Communist propaganda made America feel that National China was not worth saving, so that aid was cut off; but Chiang resorts to no recriminations.

If Chiang's warning fails, and the new "Maoist line" of trusteeship for Free China and recognition of Red China succeeds (as did the old line of "agrarian reformers"), the Soviet's successful operation may mean this time the loss of the *American* mainland; and we may find ourselves on Hawaii and other "offshore islands."

GERALDINE FITCH

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"Intuitively Great"

Alexander Hamilton: Youth to Maturity, 1755-1788, by Broadus Mitchell. 675 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. $8.75

This first of two volumes is a first-rate biography of Alexander Hamilton through New York's ratification of the Constitution. Of course, one need not agree with Dr. Mitchell that Hamilton "was fitted to approve much of the fiscal counsel of Lord Keynes," or that he would favor "national planning" as current advocates conceive it. These interpretations are in the foreword. The book itself is as free from bias as anyone could wish.

Along with other historians, the author has accepted 1755 as the year of Hamilton's birth, instead of the long-established date of 1757, recognized by Hamilton and his descendants; and this on the basis of a single document in Danish, not necessarily authoritative, to which Hamilton's age was not germane. Any child of five knows his name and age, and certainly Hamilton knew his.

Beyond this, Dr. Mitchell has given us a magnificent account of Hamilton's life.

When not campaigning, Hamilton read widely and made notes in his Company's Pay Book. One of these, from Demosthenes, seems to have been in the forefront of his mind from then on:

> As a general marches at the head of his troops, so ought wise politicians . . . to march at the head of affairs; . . . they ought not to wait the *event*, to know what measures to take; but the measures they have taken, ought to produce the event.

A year later he was Washington's aide-de-camp with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. From that time, Hamilton was at the focal point of events, closely teamed with Washington in the war and in establishing the new nation. Washington thought Hamilton's judgment "intuitively great," and wrote to him:

> In every relation which you have borne to me, I have found that my confidence in your talents, your exertions, and your integrity have been well placed.

The book is well indexed and contains 178 pages of notes and a good bibliography.

J. HARVIE WILLIAMS

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

Albert Schweitzer, by Jean Pierhal. 160 pp. Philosophical Library. $3.00

Sentimental, fictionized, this biography fails to answer a puzzling question: Why does this leader of men, sensitive both as a doctor and a musician, put himself away in a backwater to do a job others might do as well?

Move Over, Mountain, by John Ehle. 314 pp. Morrow. $3.95

This first novel is a relief from that "decadent" South that has proved such pay dirt for writers. Jordan, a Negro, thinks of himself not as a pawn in a political movement, but as a person, a husband and father. The author, a white man, says, "This is the story of a man I respect in a town I like."

California Social Welfare, by Vaughn Davis Bornet. 524 pp. Prentice-Hall. $6.75

This technical book presents a thick mass of facts and figures without editorializing. It makes one wonder why anyone in California should bother to stand on his own feet.

The South African Frontier, Economic Influences 1652-1836, by S. Daniel Neumark. 196 pp. Stanford University Press. $5.00

Mr. Neumark thinks the fact that the Cape could sell fresh meat and butter to ships rounding the Horn more important to her growth than love of wilderness or thirst for exploration. The latter confuses mythology with history. This scholarly thesis is easy to read.

Today's Neurotic Family, by Harry F. Tashman, M.D. 214 pp. N.Y. University Press. $3.95

The thesis is that the neuroses of the fathers are visited upon the children. Thus, the individual cannot be understood by himself, but in relation to his family, and he must learn the give-and-take of wholesome family life. Dr. Tashman equates the old "know thyself" with the modern "Get yourself psychoanalyzed."

The Lion's Share, by Bosley Crowther. 320 pp. Dutton. $5.00

The Lion is the trademark of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer which, with Loew's, is chosen here to typify the story of the movie industry. Though well supplied with facts, this is less newsy than Mr. Crowther's column in the *New York Times.*

Confessions of "The Old Wizard," The Autobiography of Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht. 484 pp. Houghton Mifflin. $5.50

"Confessions" and "wizard" are odd words for this self-conscious story, wrapped in the smuggest quality of deviousness. It was lucky for Schacht that Hitler sent him to prison for a year. Otherwise he might not be going free today.

Arctic Bride, by Wanda Neill Tolboom. 256 pp. Morrow. $4.00

A young Canadian gives a smiling account of two years in a Hudson's Bay Company post among the Eskimos. Full of fresh household details not usually found in outpost books. Did you know that hawk's eggs make a delicious chocolate cake?

Riot, by John Wyllie. 256 pp. Dutton. $3.50

This British-African novel is a job of thoughtful excitement. A British soldier loses his head. The natives, foolish bitter, burn and kill. And one official, caught in the dilemma, observes that the African who only yesterday picked his food off trees cannot understand the white man's centuries of effort, and expects to get shiny new cars by picking them off trees.

300,000 New Americans, by Lyman C. White. 423 pp. Harper. $4.00

To keep alive the vast army of refugees from Hitler, a group of social agencies cooperated in the National Coordination Committee. Their job was superbly done. But this book, badly organized and dotted with emotional outbursts from Mrs. Roosevelt and others, spreads a patina of dullness over their story.

(*Reviewed by Helen Woodward*)

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To the Editor

Senator Butler Comments

The article by Brent Bozell entitled "The U.S. Pushes 'National Communism'" as appearing in your June 1 issue, could not be more timely nor more important. It is my belief that many persons, in the Congress and elsewhere, are concerned about this dangerous trend.

JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
Washington, D.C. U.S. Senator

Now You See Them, Now You Don't

I was very much interested in Mr. Weaver's point ["The Roots of the Liberal Complacency," June 8] that there are no absolutes in the "Liberal's" credo, no such things as "good" and "evil"; that the murderer and the family of the deceased can always sit down and "talk things over satisfactorily," etc.

There is much to this but in my opinion it is only because there are no *causes célèbres* for them to take up arms for. . . . Now that the Nazis are done in, McCarthy is out of the way, the Supreme Court has ruled on segregation and subversion, they have few causes left to arouse them. . . . Just let Senator Eastland do an effective job on the Communists, and it will be easy to see that the fire is just smoldering and awaiting a cause to burst out.

In short, there are no absolutes when the conservatives are fighting against collectivism, but the Liberals will trot them out in profusion when anything threatens the left-wing oligarchy.

Larchmont, N.Y. C. G. ATWELL

The Bureaucratic Web

The letter from William H. Peterson [May 18] appears unique to me since it is the only thing I have seen printed contrasting the conditions in Russia and America in centralization, welfare socialism, and such trends. . . . It may be that the ships referred to by Mr. Peterson, the Russian ship sailing away from too much supervision and the American ship sailing toward supervision of human activities are passing each other now.

Mr. Peterson sees the true light, but at the same time he does not show full recognition of the fact that tyranny can come from something other than the monolith. In America the tyranny is rather a web. We have tens of thousands of legislative bodies and each week these create additional public bodies without legislatures but with autonomy nevertheless . . . and every week these legislatures also enact . . . regulatory laws. . . .

Berkeley, Cal. C. H. COLLIER

Spain

I wish to astonish myself and, no doubt, confound you by taking issue with Mr. Whittaker Chambers' letter in two small points [March 30].

He states that "the real anti-Communists are in the satellites. They are materialists, too." . . . Is it not that these anti-Communists are not anti-Fascist but anti-Russian? And we forget non-satellites, like Spain, which we qualify as a Fascist dictatorship and which challenged Communism even before Mr. Chambers.

Is it possible for one Fascist dictatorship to clash with another on any other level than a purely materialistic struggle for power? We again meet this welter of contradictions that we call Spain.

Following the thinking of the U.S. State Department over the last twenty years we will better understand the reason for the belated shift in policy toward Spain. The "young Soviets" understood the hidden purpose in continually beating Franco Spain over the head with a loaded propaganda bat.

1. The most Catholic country on earth shed a decayed monarchy, then a Republic aswamp in materialism, and then raised up a militant warrior of the One Church. The field of combat was political—but also spiritual

2. Spain is a true "western exposure" nation. The conflict that has riven class, faith, people and continent would find it on our losing side.

3. This Spain of the "western exposure" has an "eastern exposure." One of the paths to the Moslem Middle East lies through Catholic Spain.

Certainly a State Department dominated by the thinking of Hiss and Company would not want the U.S. to bridge the gulf between us and the Middle East with Spain as an "honest broker."

Mr. Chambers qualifies himself as "history's reject." Another "reject of history" was the subject of an essay by Albert Jay Nock. It seems that Elijah the Prophet had fled into the desert to escape persecution. The Lord, inquiring of his flight, learned that he was the last of the Remnant, a reject, fleeing destruction to preserve the true Faith. Whereupon the Lord informed him that he had left some thousands of similar rejects behind in Israel.

I sometimes wonder what kind of a history mankind would have had—if any—without the "rejects."

ROLLINS W. JAMES, JR.
Huntington, W. Va.

A Miracle of Making Sense

I was curious to know what James Burnham [June 1] meant when, referring to Senator McCarthy as our symbol of the fight on Communism, he wrote, "In some charismatic way that cannot be explained by his often inept acts and ignorant words, McCarthy became [this] symbol." I found [charismatic] in my Nuttall's Standard Dictionary of 1916, where it is described as "a gift, a power to work miracles conferred on the Early Christians."

It doesn't seem to me there was anything miraculous about McCarthy's influence. People just knew what he said made sense, if it was Communism we were fighting. And everything that has happened since has proved him right: his warning to Eisenhower before he went to the disastrous Summit meeting; his insistence that we would be outdone in our defense efforts by Soviet spies stealing secrets; his demand that we stop propaganda issued by ourselves blackening our civilization; his demand that we and our Allies cease trading with the Communists and their satellites; his insistence that we put the full power of our country behind our fighting men. . . .

Neshanic, N.J. E.M.B.

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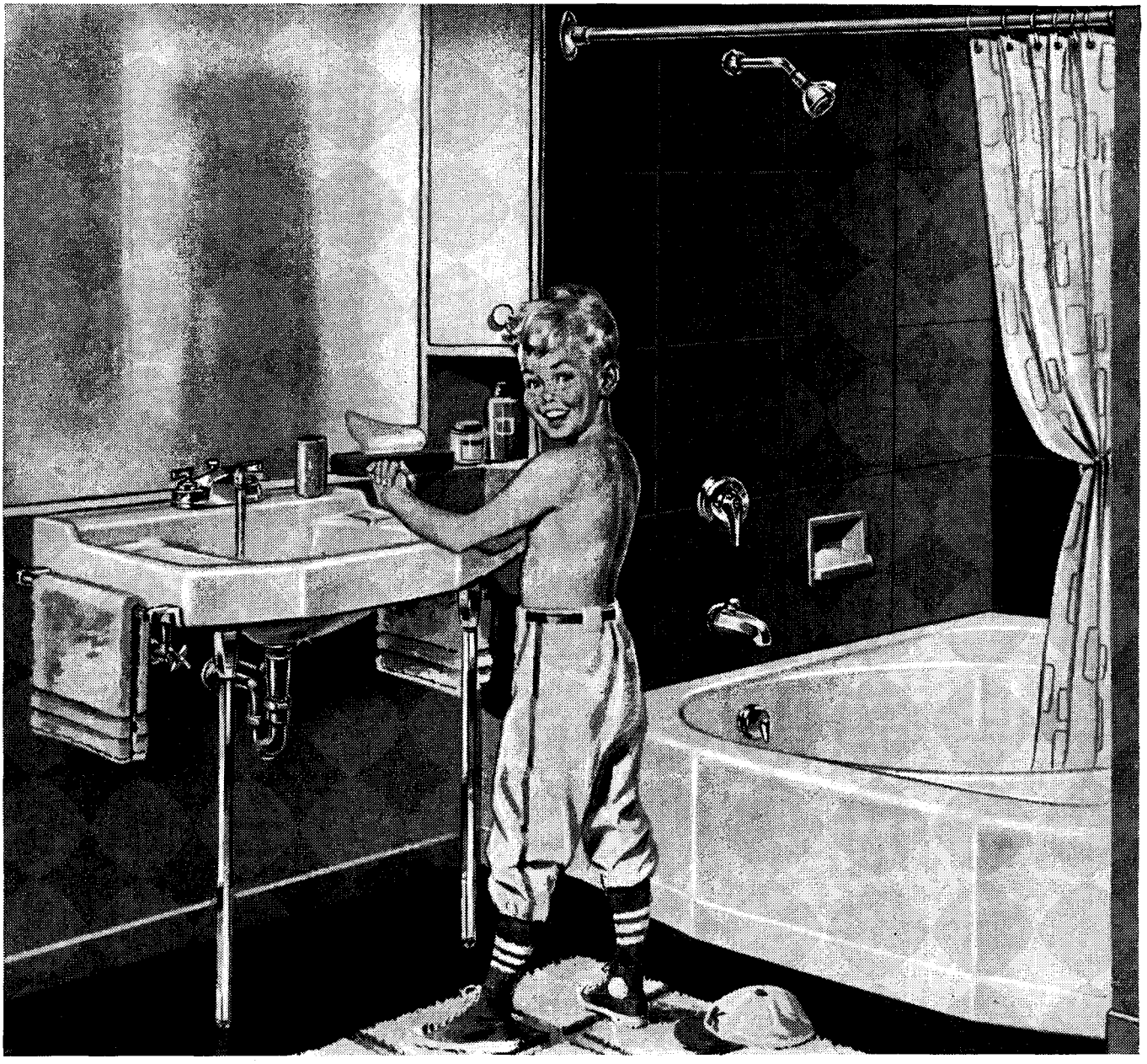

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